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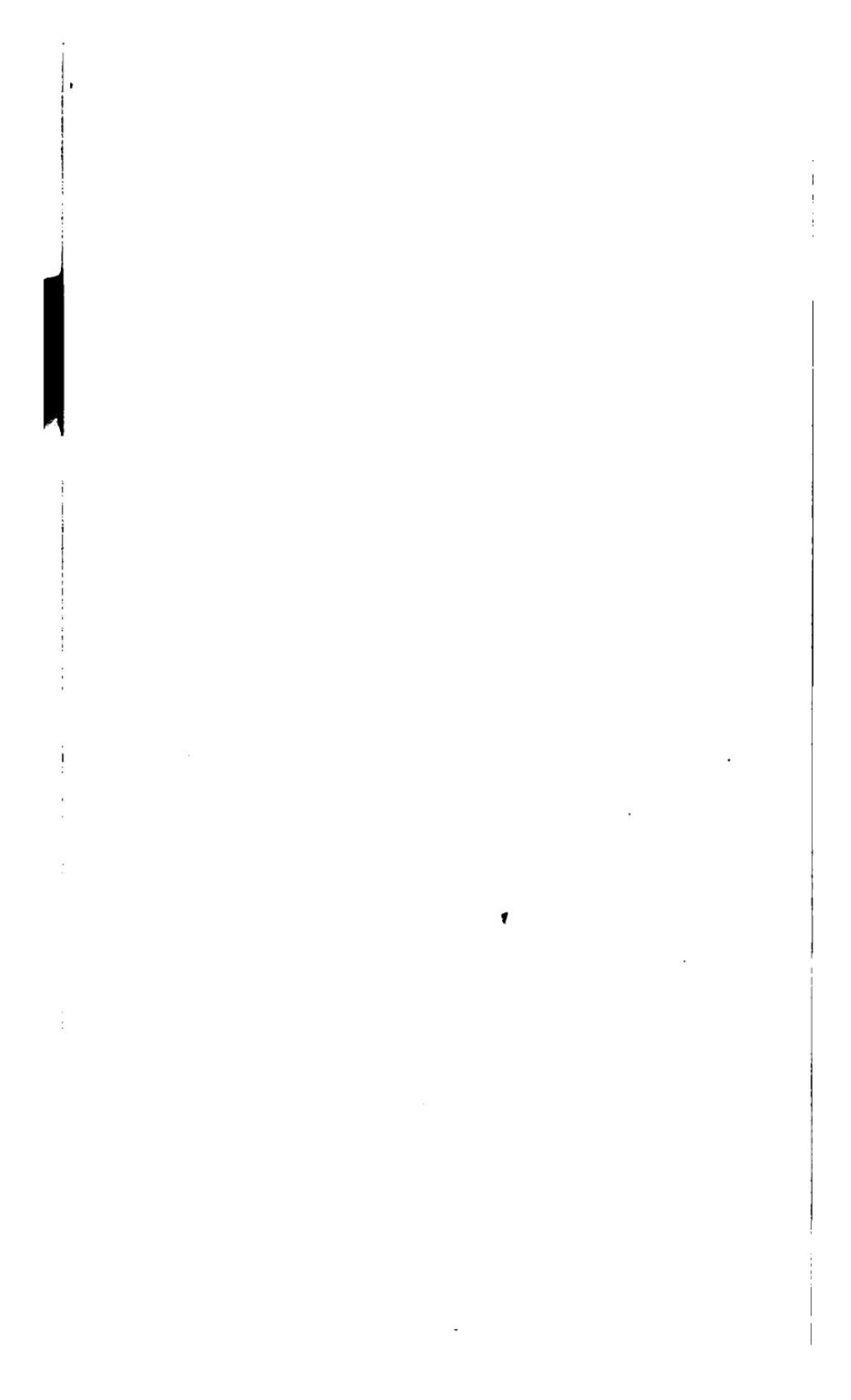
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30

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A

LETTER  
TO THE  
PROPRIETORS  
OF THE  
EAST INDIA STOCK.

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E R R A T A:

- Page 14. line ult. *for Colonel, read Council.*  
15. line 4. *for the Company's forces, read the King's  
and Company's forces.*  
15. line 11. *for Colonel, read Council.)*  
29. line 23. *for Plassis, read Plafsey.*

A

# LETTER

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TO THE

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# PROPRIETORS

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OF THE

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# EAST INDIA STOCK,

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FROM

Robert Clive

# LORD CLIVE.

LONDON:

Printed for J. Nourse, opposite Catherine-street, in  
the Strand, Bookseller in Ordinary to His MAJESTY.

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AN  
A D D R E S S  
TO THE  
P R O P R I E T O R S  
OF THE  
E A S T I N D I A S T O C K.

THE last Election of the India Directors drew many unjust attacks on my character ; and it is probable, I may be censured by some, for having suffered such reports as were spread against me during the contest to have remained so long unanswered ; but knowing, that even the authors of them could not themselves believe them ; and conscious to myself, that every part of my conduct, in the great share I had in the management of the Company's affairs, would bear the most rigid scrutiny, and the more known be the more approved ; I held

B them

them in too much contempt to merit any answer. But as I find the unjust attack on my character has been followed by an attack on my fortune, and insinuations thrown out to justify these proceedings, very injurious to my honour, I reluctantly submit to vindicate myself, and must rely upon the candour of the Proprietors, not to impute it to ostentatious vanity, if in speaking of myself I do aver, that I founded all my actions in their service on honourable motives.

To state this clearly, I am obliged to go back to that period when commerce was the Company's sole object. The first principle on which the Company's settlements were established, was entirely commercial. The Mogul government had, during the long and wise administration of Aurengzebe, taken such deep root, that the many nations which formed the empire of Indostan were subjugated to the Mogul in various forms; some of them tributary and hereditary, and others governed by Nabobs, or Viceroy, under the immediate appointment of the Emperors.

Such

Such was the state of the empire when the English settled in India ; and, in the reign of Furruckseer, they obtained phirmonds, or royal grants, for establishing themselves in Bengal, Madras, and Surat, with privilege of trading duty-free ; and a grant of a certain district of land to settle upon, and liberty to fortify and govern themselves by their own laws. But as the English saw no violence to be apprehended from a people who had a just idea of commerce, and a government at that time well administred, they built with very little view of defence, and carried on their trade free from oppression.

The governors of the distant provinces discovering the weakness to which the power of the Emperor was reduced by the invasion of Nadir Shah, were no longer restrained by fear ; each assumed and exercised sovereign authority over his province, and looked on his government as an heritage to his family. Scarce any more of the annual sums, before paid by them to the Mogul, were sent to court ; and, to maintain themselves in their sovereignty, they levied forces far beyond what the ordinary revenues

would maintain : From hence oppressions became necessary, and, in their turn, the Europeans were oppressed, not only in their trade, but large sums extorted from them by violence. Mons. Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, was the first who took the alarm, and was the first who discovered the superiority of European discipline, and from hence was led into the idea of acquiring a territorial sovereignty in India.

It is probable, he at first extended his views no farther than a district round Pondicherry ; but when once engaged in the politics of the country, his successes so far surpassed his expectation, and opened such a scene of power to him, that he disdained the narrow limits he might at first prescribe to himself ; and no doubt but they were enlarged, not only to the conquest of the Carnatic, but to the extirpation of all other European nations, and even to the reduction of the whole Mogul empire, and to make it a dependant state on the crown of France.

The English beheld his progress with astonishment, but were not roused to action, till they

they found themselves on the point of being swallowed up by the French power. Forced to it, they with reluctance, in 1750, undertook the support of Mahomed Ally against Chunda Saheb, under whose name the French carried on their ambitious projects.

It is not my intention to enter into a minute detail of that long war, maintained on our side against a constant superiority of numbers, at the expence of the lives of many thousands of brave men, and at the risque of near a million sterling of the Company's property ; I shall only observe, that from our successes, the Nabob's situation was so different at the end of the year 1753, from what it was in 1750, at which time the single city of Trichinopoly was the only part of his dominions that remained unconquered by the French, that in 1753 he had recovered, and was master of, almost the whole Carnatic ; and at that time the French resources seemed nearly exhausted.

The French Company, elated at the success which attended Mons. Dupleix in the commencement of the war, at first faintly approved

his measures; but the opposition of the other European powers, the unforeseen events of war, and the deviating so widely from their natural object of commerce, rendering the event very uncertain, there was nothing could fix their faith in the rectitude of those measures, but successes that might attend them, and a happy period to the war, which Mons. Dupleix promised them in every letter. But, instead of these successes, they saw the countries, of which they expected the revenues would be their reward, in the hands of their enemies, and their stock exhausting in the support of an uncertain war, which ruined their trade, and the manufactories of the country, from which they had before reaped advantages suitable to their establishment.

The war appeared in the same light to the English Company, and therefore both agreed on a neutrality for the Carnatic, till means should be found to put an end to that and all future wars by negociations at home. But as it regarded the Carnatic only, it did not check the progress of the French arms in the Decan, the Soubah of which had ceded to them Massulipatan,

lipatan, and four provinces, which yielded them a revenue of 400,000*l.* sterling a year. Nor did there appear any check to their progress in that country: the French gave law, by their influence over the Soubah, to a country as extensive and populous as France; and by a prudent management of what they had so acquired, or by increase of dominion, it was in their power even then to have laid a foundation on which M. Dupleix's great ideas of conquest might have been realized. And altho' the French Company themselves should have chosen to adhere to their commercial interests, Dupleix's projects suited too well with that spirit of conquest which prevails in the French court, to be neglected; and upon the breaking out of the war, it is reasonable to conclude, from the forces sent out under General Lally, that they adapted them in their utmost extent. Our settlements were but a secondary object; their forces were so formidable, that they, with great probability, imagined them a trifling obstacle, (which surmounted). Cape Comorin and the Ganges might have been the boundaries of their dominions. The spirited efforts of Mr. Pocock

could not prevent their landing their army : St. Davids fell ; no obstacle but Fort St. George remained to the accomplishment of their farther conquests. Here they met with a resistance suitable to the importance of the object ; and I am, persuaded, that Messrs. Pigott, Lautensac, Drapier, and many other gentlemen of the garrison would have been buried under its ruins, sooner than before surrendered the place, or been too feeble to continue their resistance.

The siege was raised ; their army reduced, and misfortunes pressed them on every side.

Bringing the siege of Madras, they had lost all their settlements in Bengal, four hundred Europeans, sent under Col. Ford into the Deccan, by the great success of that gallant officer, put an end to their expectations in that country. The reduction of Masulipatam, the four northern provinces, and the making all the French army prisoners, greatly contributed to our success, at Fort St. George ; as it diverted great parts of the French forces, who otherwise would have been called to the siege of Madras, and deprived them of supplies, of money, and provisions. And finally, as Col.

Ford's

Ford's expedition obliged the French to send from the coast 500 men for the relief of Masulipatan, of whom very few returned to Pondicherry, the French were reduced to act upon the defensive only, and were greatly distressed for money and provisions, which Fort St. George was plentifully supplied with from Bengal. Under these circumstances the fall of Pondicherry closed the scene of all their glory, and left them not a foot of land in India.

Thus has passed, from its commencement, the progress and issue of a war, begun on principles of French ambition, but happily terminated by the greatest efforts of valour and good conduct on the part of the English. I flatter myself, that every Proprietor must receive infinite pleasure in the reflection, that they will soon reap the benefit of these great and glorious successes, now secured to them by the 11th article of the definitive treaty. Although there are some geographical others, such as making the Soubah of Bengal's dominions extend near 200 miles wider than they do, to Yanam, and making that place the northern instead of the southern part of the coast of

of Orixa : the acknowledging Salabad Jing lawful Soubah of the Deccan, and Mahomed Ally Cawn lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, had better have been omitted for several reasons, and may be productive of disputes hereafter between the two Companies : yet, upon the whole, the article is very advantageous to the East India Company.

As my opposition originally arose from the defect in the Preliminary Articles, (in which the interest of the East India Company appeared to me to be much exposed,) it affords me a very particular pleasure to think that I have been any ways instrumental to the amendment of that article relative to the Company. Of the part I acted in it, Mr. Wood himself bore testimony in the general court ; and tho' it had but little weight at that time, yet I persuade myself, that when the voice of clamour ceases, that, like every other part of my conduct towards the company, will be found to have sprung from the warmest zeal for their honour and interest.

As to myself, I can with truth affirm, that the principal motive that induced me to offer myself

myself a candidate for the India Direction, was the interest of the East India Company; and my reasons for espousing the cause of Mr. Rous, arose from a conviction of his integrity. Contrary to my expectation, my opponents, the very men who had so often concurred in giving me the most public testimonies of their sense of my services, were ~~such~~ that opposed my coming into the Direction. Better versed in such business than myself, they prevailed in this dispute, and every species of calumny was made use of that malice could invent; and the first step my opponents took, after the election, was to order their servants abroad to stop the rents of my estate in the East Indies, which they themselves had regularly paid me for several years, without objection. Their motives for taking such a step at such a time are too obvious to be insisted upon.

Anonymous letters in the public papers were the channel by which my enemies chose for those dishonourable reflections, which none among them would have dared to have set their names to. But I do not wish to give out the names of those persons, but I have

I have collected, from the heap of absurdities published on that occasion in the Gazetteer of the 12th of April, 1763, the following articles.

1st. That I had refused to answer certain inquiries respecting the distribution of the Nabob's treasure.

2dly. That I had done injustice to the relations of the unhappy sufferers in the Black Hole, by withholding from them the sums stipulated by treaty for their indemnification.

3dly. That having deposed the Nabob, I entered the treasury, and distributed the wealth according to the pleasure of those intrusted with the Company's authority, leaving the Nabob destitute, and necessitated to borrow money of the Company for his necessary expences; by all which the Company may hereafter become responsible to the Mogul.

4thly. That no servant of the Company shall remit money home but by their cash, which order I broke through, by remitting large sums by the Dutch cash.

5thly. That I was guilty of a breach of trust, by supplying a Portuguese ship, bound from

from Bengal to Lisbon, with goods and money,  
to the great detriment of the Company.

6thly. That I have no right to an annual  
revenue of 27,000*l.* a year, given me by the  
Nabob, which must be supported and main-  
tained at the Company's expence.

The first of these articles does not explain  
what the inquiries were I had refused to an-  
swer; I therefore do not clearly understand  
what the tendency of such inquiries were. If  
they had any relation to the monies received  
from the Nabob by the Company, the treaties  
entered into with the Nabob by the Admirals  
Watson and Pocock, the President of Fort  
William and myself, in consequence of which  
the Company received near a million and an  
half sterl<sup>ing</sup>, will account for that proportion  
to which the Company can lay any claim. This  
however does not seem to be the matter al-  
luded to, but something respecting myself,  
or the fortune I acquired in the Compa-  
ny's service. It is well known, that I was not  
in England at the time the general court was  
held relating to the distribution of the Nabob's  
treasure,

treasure, and could not possibly give any answer to inquiries on that subject ; but if there was any foundation for such inquiries, the Directors were wanting in their duty to the Company, in not making them after my return : and it will appear, that the Directors, under their own hands, approved of the donations bestowed by the Nabob on individuals for their services. But however, as the neglect of the Directors, if that was the case, in not calling me to account, can by no means sanctify my actions, it is necessary that I give the best satisfaction I am able relative to this matter.

I was appointed, by the gentlemen of Fort St. George, commander in chief of the troops sent for the recovery of the Company's settlements in Bengal, on board the fleet commanded by Admiral Watson. On our arrival in the Ganges, we found the unhappy remains of a once flourishing colony on board a few merchant ships in that river. We landed, drove the enemy from Fort William, and put the Company's Governor and Colonel in possession.

The Nabob then came down with an army of sixty or seventy thousand men, and a heavy train of artillery, flushed by his late successes against the English. The Company's forces, consisting of a battalion of 450 men, a battalion of Seapoys, and a body of sailors from the squadron, attacked the Nabob in his camp, and defeated him. We then made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to restore all the effects he had taken. In consequence of which, the Governor and Colonel recovered in goods and money to a large amount. \*

War being declared against France, we took Chandernagore; and having convincing proofs, that the Nabob's firm intention was to extirpate the English, as soon as the troops and squadron left the river, we entered into an alliance with Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn, a general officer in the Nabob's service, and near relation to the Nabob; and accordingly a treaty † was concluded between us, the chief

\* A copy of this treaty may be seen in the Appendix, No. 1.

† A copy of which may be seen in the Appendix, No. 2.

chief object of which was, on the part of our ally, a full satisfaction to the Company and all the inhabitants, for the losses they had sustained by the capture of Fort William, and other factories which the Nabob had plundered, with grants of lands and privileges ; and, on the Company's part, to place and support him in the government of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa.

Every thing being agreed on between Meer Jaffier and the secret committee, we marched the army to meet the Nabob, whom we intirely defeated. His death followed soon after, and Meer Jaffier was, in a few days, in possession of the government, and of a revenue of three millions and an half sterlings per annum.

The one half of the secret committee being then present at the capital, and a report made by the Nabob's ministers of the state of the treasury, it was settled, that half the sum stipulated by treaty should be paid in three months, and the other half in three years, all conditionally, that we supported him in the government.

The

The Nabob then, agreeable to the known and usual custom of eastern princes, made presents, both to those of his own court, and to such of the English, who by their rank and abilities had been instrumental in the happy success of so hazardous an enterprize, suitable to the rank and dignity of a great Prince. I was one amongst the many who benefited by his favour: I never sought to conceal it, but declared publicly, in my letters to the secret committee of the India Directors, that the Nabob's generosity had made my fortune easy, and that the Company's welfare was now my only motive for staying in India. What injustice was this to the Company? They could expect no more than what was stipulated in the treaty. Or what injunction was I under to refuse a present from him who had the power to make me one, as the reward of honourable services? I know of none. I had surely myself a particular claim, by having devoted myself to the Company's military service, and neglected all commercial advantages. What reason then can be given, or what pretence could the company have to expect, that I,

after having risqued my life so often in their service, should deny myself the only honourable opportunity that ever offered of acquiring a fortune, without prejudice to them, who, it is evident, would not have had more for my having had less. When the Company had acquired a million and an half sterling, and a revenue of near 100,000*l.* per annum, from the success of their forces under my command; when ample restoration had been made to those whose fortunes suffered by the calamity of Calcutta; and when individuals had, in consequence of that success, acquired large estates; what would the world have said, had I come home, and rested upon the generosity of the present Court of Directors?

It is well known to every gentleman in Bengal, that the honour of my country, and the interest of the Company were the principles that governed all my actions; and that had I only taken the advantageous opportunities that presented themselves, by my being commander in chief, and at the head of a victorious army, and what by the custom of that country I was intitled to, the Jaghire itself, great as it is,

is, would have been an object scarce worth my consideration.

The city of Maxadavad is as extensive, populous, and rich as the city of London; with this difference, that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than any in the last city. These, as well as every other man of property, made me the greatest offers, (which nevertheless are usual upon such occasions, and what they expected would have been required) and had I accepted these offers, I might have been in possession of millions, which the present Court of Directors could not have dispossessed me of. But preferring the reputation of the English nation, the interest of the Nabob, and the advantage of the Company, to all pecuniary considerations, I refused all offers that were made me, not only then, but to the last hour of my continuance in the Company's service in Bengal, and do challenge friend or enemy to bring one single instance of my being influenced by interested motives to the Company's disadvantage, or to do any act that could reflect dishonour to my country or the Company, in any

one action of my administration; either as Governor or commanding officer.

I little expected ever to have had my conduct impeached, or to have received such treatment from the Court of Directors, especially after the many public and honourable testimonies of approbation I had received in the orders and letters mentioned in the Appendix, No. 3.

I am not ostentatious, but upon this occasion am forced to deviate from myself, and with great reluctance expose these public testimonies of my conduct, in contrast to the dishonourable motives which have induced my enemies to impeach it.

As to the 2d article, accusing me with injustice towards the relations of the unhappy sufferers in the Black Hole; whoever will be at the pains to inquire, will learn that £25,000<sup>L</sup>. was the sum assigned to make good the losses sustained by the Europeans; that the money was sent down to the Governor and Council at Calcutta, and by them deposited in the Company's treasury, who gave orders to their treasurer to issue it out as demanded to the secretary

appointed by the 24 commissioners, chosen by the inhabitants themselves to adjust their respective claims; and that none of it ever passed thro' my hands. They will further learn, that the sum assigned did not only suffice to pay the principal of such losses, but for a dividend of 22 per cent, for interest, besides a sum sufficient for another such dividend, which has been detained for the Company's use by orders to their servants abroad. It is very possible, that the heirs of some of the unfortunate sufferers in the Black Hole may not have been able to obtain their right, for want of attorneys to apply to the commissioners for that right. If there be any such demands, I should imagine they may still have justice done them out of the remaining treaty-money, now in possession of the Company. But to shew in what a light the sufferers themselves regarded my conduct, I take the liberty to insert a paragraph, extracted from a letter signed by almost all the inhabitants of Calcutta, which will shew the Proprietors their sentiments of my conduct on that subject.

" Honoured Sir,

" The inhabitants of this settlement, truly  
 " sensible of the benefits they have received  
 " from your generous assistance, in obtaining  
 " their restitution for the heavy losses they  
 " sustained in the miserable catastrophe of June  
 " 1756, and for your great care and assiduity,  
 " in the collecting of that part of the Nabob's  
 " donation; Do, with the utmost gratitude,  
 " return their hearty and sincere thanks for  
 " those great favours conferred on them, the  
 " remembrance whereof will be for ever in-  
 " delible;"

As to the third article, which seems to inti-  
 mate some right in the Great Mogul to the  
 treasures of the late Nabob Sarajah Dowla, and  
 that the Company may hereafter be responsible  
 to him on account of these treasures; it may  
 be said, that there is such a Prince, but he is  
 almost without territory or power; the little he  
 possesses not being equal in extent or riches to  
 one twentieth part of his dominions, and  
 therefore unable to inforce in those provinces  
 any authority that might have formerly belong-

ed to him ; and he is now so far reduced, as to be a captive to, and in the hands of, one of the Soubahs.

However, as I would give the Proprietors all the satisfaction I can, as to this article, I will lay all the particulars before them, and for that purpose I must inform them, that as soon as it was known, that Sarajah Dowla was fled from the city, a new ministry was immediately appointed, and the former officers became responsible to them.

The gentlemen appointed by the Governor and Council to receive the money due by the treaty, were agents for this purpose. As to myself, I was never there but once out of curiosity; and I do declare, that I never interfered, directly or indirectly, any further than what immediately related to the payment of the money stipulated by the treaty.

The treasure was most certainly the property of the Nabob Meer Jaffer, as it would have been of any other Nabob, who might have succeeded to Sarajah Dowla; but for the application of the money, I will suppose, for once, that it did belong to the Gheriaogul:

surely then it was out of that very Imperial treasure the Company received 1,250,000*l.* The sufferers at Calcutta 1,000,000*l.* and the navy and army 600,000*l.* and that if Meer Jaffier had no right to give any part of the Imperial treasure to individuals for their services, he had no power to bestow those several large sums to the Company, sufferers, navy, and army; and if he was answerable for the one, he must for the other. If therefore it was wrong in me to accept the favours of the Nabob out of that treasury, certainly it must be so too in the Company, sufferers, navy, and army.

As to what is inferred, that the donations given by the Nabob to individuals, had drained his treasury in such a manner, that the Company were obliged to lend him large sums of money, this is not only a very unfair, but a false representation of facts. The time the Company lent this money to the Nabob was, when his dominions were in peace, and the sum was only two Jack of rupees, about 25,000*l.* the Nabob's minister himself informed me, he had then to the amount of near a million sterling in

jewels, a large sum of money in his treasury, and to a very great amount in plate. It could not be owing to distress that he borrowed this money : his pretences of poverty might have been made use of with a political view, as is the constant practice in that country; or he might have desired to borrow money of the Company for fear they should desire to borrow of him. But the real fact was this; if I may be supposed to know it, who then presided over the Company's affairs in Bengal.

By the IXth article of the treaty with the Nabob, the Company's possessions would have been of little consequence to them, unless we were allowed to put not only our own construction on the words of the article, but also to have an additional quantity of land to the northward, to the amount of near 12,000 A. per ann. In order to accomplish this, we not only were obliged to comply with the Nabob's request, made at that particular time, but also to make presents to several of the principal officers about him, to engage his consent to this grant, which he was not bound to make by treaty; and I believe the Directors know very well,

well: if not, I am sure the Governor and Council are well apprized of what consequence it was to the Company, to obtain the grant of those lands to the northward of Calcutta. I will venture to affirm, had the Nabob desired a loan of money at any other time but this, his request would not have been complied with.

The unfortunate Meer Jaffier was a stranger to distress until I had left the country. It was when the King's son, and a large body of Mahrattas, invaded and ravaged his kingdom for a twelvemonth together, and had stopped the receipt of great part of his revenues. It was then that the Nabob began for the first time to experience the misfortunes of distress. Yet still his distress was not so great, but that his successor was able, immediately, to borrow on the Company eight lack of rupees, or 160,000 £ Sterling, to carry on the war on the coast of Coromandel. As to the fourth article, That no servant of the Company shall remit money home but by their cash; which order I broke through, by remitting large sums by the Dutch cash. That I did,

I did, jointly with my friends, remit a large sum of money to England, by bills on the Dutch Company, is most true; for this reason only, that the English Company's treasury was so full, that their servants abroad thought it inconsistent with the Company's interest to grant bills, when it was more than possible, the French might drive us out of all India, and the Company not only lose what they had just acquired, but become responsible for the immense sums, which under the terror that then prevailed of the French force, would be immediately poured into their treasury: and though I should have thought it a great advantage to have remitted my fortune home at that dangerous crisis, by bills on the Company, when the motion was made in council to receive all monies tendered for bills payable in three years. I was myself one of those who opposed it; and the only money received into the treasury was Mr. Watson's estate, to shew a sense of the services received from him: Sums due to the merchants of London, for coral and bullion: small sums from the principal servants, for remittances to their families, and the purchase

of necessaries, were received, and bills granted for them.

I flatter myself, it will give me some merit with the Company, that I opposed the fatal designs of the Dutch in the armament they had sent to Bengal, with so much perseverance; more especially as I had at that time the greatest part of my property in their power, the bills given me not being wholly due till three years after sight; and I could not but be very sensible at that time of the risque I ran, by such an opposition to that dangerous undertaking; and I will venture to affirm, that had not my trustees agreed to accept the payment of the money upon the Dutch Company's own terms, which were a very considerable deduction for prompt payment, the greatest part of my fortune would have been at this day in their hands.

As to the fifth article, That I was guilty of a breach of trust, by supplying a Portuguese ship, bound from Bengal to Lisbon, with goods and money, to the great detriment of the Company; there is not one word of truth in the whole of this assertion. Those who did, may

may plead the same defence that I do for my remittance by the Dutch : the inference drawn is absurd ; the Company had more money than goods to purchase.

I now come to the last article, viz. That I have no right to an annual revenue of 27,000*l.* a year, given me by the Nabob, which must be supported and maintained at the Company's expence.

In this article, party resentment seems to have confounded all ideas of right and wrong ; and my opposition to the present leading gentlemen has cast such a mist before their eyes, that they cannot discern that right which they had before acknowledged by every act that could express it. But as I intend to make the Proprietors the judges of that right, I shall explain the cause, for which the Jaghire, or Lordship, which produces to me an annual income of about 30,000*l.* a year, was given me, and the nature of the grant by which I hold it.

Soon after the battle of Plassey, the Nabob, of his own free motion, without the least hint or application from me, sent a petition to the court

court of Dehli; that I might be created an Omrah, or Lord of the Empire. In the beginning of the year 1758, the Nabob received and delivered me the patent (with other honours accompanying it); by which I was created an Omrah of the command of 5000 foot, and the rank of 6000 horse.

According to the custom of the country, the Soubah assigns a Jaghire, or estate, within his own provinces, to support the dignity of the new created Omrah; but at the time I received the patent of creation, I knew of no such intention in the Nabob, whose friendship for me gave way to other views.

I have before hinted, that the Soubah's first plan was to evade the execution of the remaining part of the treaty, and to appear, in the eyes of his subjects, as maintaining himself by his own strength, and not by our support.

He took the field, as early as the season would permit, with an army of 80,000 horse and foot; and it was with reluctance that he sent to me to join him with our troops, and more from the apprehension of leaving us so

near his capital during his absence, than from any expectation of our assistance in the furthering of his designs.

We marched the army up, now reduced by the malignancy of the climate to 300 English, with two battalions of Seapoys, and a train of artillery.

At our first meeting I reproached him with the duplicity of his conduct, and insisted on his immediately paying down all arrears, and that he should give secure assignments for the payment of the rest of the treaty-money. I freely gave him my opinion of his keeping up such a vast army, which drained his treasury to no manner of purpose; that the example of his predecessor might be a lesson to him how little such troops were to be depended upon; and that when danger pressed, he would find the English his only true and firm support. In his exaltation to his new grandeur, and seeing himself at the head of such a numerous army, my advice made little impression; so I concluded with telling him, he might amuse himself with his own ideas, but, in the mean time, that I was neither to be trifled with nor intimidated;

mitated ; and, after some struggle, I obtained immediate payment of the arrears, amounting to several hundred thousand pounds, and an assignment of certain districts, the revenues of which were to be collected by the Company, as a security for the rest ; and from this instant the Nabob may have been said to comply literally with his treaty.

These were the Nabob's sentiments at that time, and such they continued until the following year, when the province of Bahar being invaded by the Mogul's son, (drove by the Vizier from his father's court) the Nabob attempted to take the field, and now experienced what I always inculcated to be true. Vast arrears were due to his numerous army, who, taking advantage of the times, surrounded him, and insisted not only on the whole of the arrears due from his predecessor as well as himself, but on an advance of pay. These demands amounting to many millions, it was impossible he could comply with them.

In this exigency he applied to us, entertaining great doubts of our friendship, from the consciousness of the insincere part he had acted, and

and from a just sense of his own imprudence, in having neglected the advice I had given him the preceding year, to disband the greatest part of his large and useless army. Bound by treaty and interest, it behoved us to secure the attachment and dependancy of the Nabob. We immediately took the field, and relieved him, for the present, from the inconveniences he laboured under from his own forces, who, over-awed by our presence, desisted from their demands. Being joined by 8000 horse and foot, under the command of his son the young Nabob, we marched four hundred miles in twenty-three days, and forced the enemy to raise the siege of Patna, the capital of the province of Bahar, and pursued them two hundred miles further, until they passed the boundaries of the Soubah's dominions, and then obliged the tributary Rajahs to pay their arrears. In the mean time, the Nabob's army had again surrounded him, and were become more outrageous than ever; and he was upon the point of being put to death, when the news of our success dispersed them, and they became as

submissive and fawning, as they were before daring and insolent.

Services rendered at such a crisis, convinced him at last of the value of such sincere allies. On my return from the north he came to meet me, and after many obliging expressions, that I had saved his life, and made him a second time Soubah, he reproached himself with ingratitude in never having appointed me a Jaghire. On taking his leave he told me, Jaggerseat (a man of great note in that country) was intrusted with his orders on that subject. Jaggerseat soon after put a paper roll into my hands, in the presence of Mr. Francis Sykes, Mr. Luke Scrafton, (both now in England) and Major Carnac, which proved to be a patent for the Lordship of the lands rented by the Company, in consequence of the article of our treaty with him. The patent was soon followed by the order in the Appendix, No. 3, being an order to the Governor and Council of Calcutta, to pay me the rents of the said lands, instead of paying them as before into his treasury, he having made me Jaghiredar, or Lord of the country.

Such

Such were the motives that induced the Nabob to give me this token of his sense of my services, and such the manner in which it was conferred, by me unasked and unexpected; I say unasked and unexpected, because, from the time of my receiving my honours from Dehli, in December 1757, to this time, nothing had ever passed on the subject, but one letter from me to Jaggerseat, in January 1759, informing him, that the Nabob had made me an Oryah without a Jaghire, which I understood did usually accompany it, and to desire he would apply to him on that occasion; to which letter he return answer, that he had applied to his Excellency, who ordered him to acquaint me, that he never granted Jaghires in Bengal; that Oryah was too poor, but that I might have one in Bahar. Looking on the Nabob's answer as an evasive one, and that he was not inclined to comply with my request, I never wrote or thought any more on this subject, until I received a second letter from Jaggerseat in answer to my first, after our success against the King's son, that the Nabob had turned the thing in his mind, and was willing to grant me

a Jaghire in Bengal; but the nature of it, where, or of what value it was to be, I was entirely ignorant, till the patent explained it, and I confess it gave me the greater pleasure to find it to be the Lordship of the Company's lands, because the Company was thereby freed from all dependance on the government.

It now remains to say something of the validity and nature of the grant. It is to be observed, that the lands ceded to the Company by the IXth article of the treaty, were only ceded to them as perpetual Jemindars, or renters; the Nabob reserving the lordship and quit-rents, which amounted to near 30,000*L*. yearly; and the Company could never be lawfully dispossessed, so long as they continued to pay that quit-rent. It was, then, the lordship and rents so reserved that he made over to me; no prejudice resulting to the Company, who had farmed out the same to a very considerable yearly amount, with a prospect of great increase of rents, and only this difference, that they were to pay the quit-rent to me, instead of the government; to this nation a profit of 30,000*L*. a year.

With

With regard to the validity of this grant, I shall only say, that the patent passed all the usual forms of the country, and was founded on the very same authority that the Company had for all their acquisitions, the power of a Soubah. This I think is a sufficient answer to the charge in the 6th and last article.

I shall now proceed to lay before the Proprietors the measures taken by my adversaries, subsequent to the election, and the reasons they assign to support them.

But I shall first take notice, that by the services rendered to the Nabob, the Company not only recovered the misfortunes sustained from the late Nabob, with the possessions I have already mentioned, but also acquired, and had delivered into their hands, the absolute power over the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa; whose ordinary annual revenues produce three millions and a half sterling; insomuch that they were enabled to set up and establish in the Soubahship any person they thought fit. This matter may be clearly seen by the letters in the Appendix, No. 3.

This power the Company, soon after I left Bengal, exercised, and in 1761 they entered into a treaty with Mahomed Coffin Cawn, son-in-law to Meer Jaffier, for that purpose, (a copy of which treaty is in the Appendix, No. 4.) By this treaty the Company acquired a much larger district of country, than they before enjoyed under the treaty with Meer Jaffier, together with a larger estate and interest in those lands, than they had in those before granted; for the annual amount of the lands last acquired were near 600,000*l.* and instead of reserving to the government the usual rents of burage which those lands were subject to, both the lands and those rents were granted to the Company, to retain and have in

This treaty being signed by Mahomed Coffin Cawn and the Presidents of the Company at Calcutta, on behalf of the Company, the Nabob Meer Jaffier was surrounded in his palace by the servants of the Company, and obliged to relinquish his government, and was carried down to their settlement at Calcutta, where he did till lately reside, and Mahomed

COFFIN CAWN, THE SON OF THE PREVIOUS COFFIN COFFIN

11

Coffin Cawn was placed in the executive part of the government in his stead.

I shall not at present enter into the consideration of the grounds and motives for so early and extraordinary a change in the government of the provinces, being inclined to think those matters will be laid before you by persons better acquainted with that transaction than I am. For the present I introduced it only to shew the great advantages the revolution, brought about by the removal of Surajah Dowla, had produced to the Company; and that those advantages might, with prudent management, be increased: but at the same time I must observe, that the revolution against Surajah Doula was a matter of necessity, as upon that event only depended the existence of the India Company; and I hope nothing but the preservation of the Company's property in those parts induced those concerned in the last revolution (if it may be so called) to bring it about.

I have before acknowledged, that my fortune arose from the grateful bounty of the Nabob for my services to him; and altho' I shall ever think of my services to the Company with

pleasure, yet the Company cannot say I owe them any thing in point of gratitude. My allowance, as President, was (until increased by the additional allowance of 1000*l.* a year) less than ~~one~~ of my predecessor received by 1200*l.* a year. Indeed, had the Court of Directors rewarded my services in the same manner they have done those of my successor, by allowing me two and an half per cent. on all their revenues and monies acquired for them, it might have been otherwise. My adversaries cannot therefore say I acquired my fortune out of the property of the Company, or in diminution of that of my country, or any of my fellow-subjects: on the contrary, it is well known, that had it not been for the successes we were blessed with, this kingdom would never have had the benefit of one farthing of the money which has been brought into it, in consequence of those successes. This being the case, one might have expected, after so many years service to the Company, and under the circumstances I have described, they would at least have permitted me to have had the quiet enjoyment of that fortune I had so obtained.

And

And here I must acquaint the Proprietors, that the rents of my Jaghire were regularly paid during the time I was in Bengal, and, since my return, have been received by my attorneys in Bengal, and remitted by them to me, as the ships sailed from thence, in bills on the Company here, which were always regularly paid without objection, until May last, when, on the ships going out for Bengal, which were the first that went out after the election on that voyage, I was given to understand, that orders had been sent to stop the payment of my Jaghire. I applied to the Court of Directors for a copy of those orders, but that was refused; however, I afterwards came to the knowledge of them. They are to the following purport: "With respect to the Jaghire given by the late Nabob, Jaffier Ally Khan, to Lord Clive, arising out of the lands granted by the said Nabob to the Company, we direct, that you do not pay any further sums to the attorneys of Lord Clive on the account; and we further direct, that whatever shall arise in future from the said Jaghire, be carried to our credit.

" You

" You are to cause exact accounts to be made  
 " out and transmitted to us, not only of what  
 " shall so come into our cash, but also of all  
 " the sums Lord Clive's attorneys have already  
 " received on the said account, together with  
 " the dates of the several payments. His  
 " Lordship's pretensions to the said Jaghire  
 " will be settled here."

And Mr. Sulivan, by a letter wrote at the  
 same time by him to the President at Calcutta,  
 informed him, " That all cordiality being at an  
 end with Lord Clive, the Court of Directors  
 had stopped payment of his Jaghire ; &  
 measure which would have taken place years  
 ago, had it not been for him (Mr. Sulivan),  
 and that on this head the said President was  
 to obey every order, which he might receive  
 from the Court of Directors ; and that more  
 was not, nor must be, expected of him."

I shall not trouble the Proprietors with any  
 observations on this order and letter, they  
 will sufficiently speak for themselves ; but shall  
 only remark, that I must think it extremely  
 hard to be deprived of my property because I  
 cannot agree with the present Court of Directors.

But

But the Company having paid my jaghire so long without any objection, and even now not claiming any right thereto, themselves, nor pretending to say that any one else does; under such circumstances one might be at a loss to conceive what foundation in reason there could be for the Directors sending such orders to Bengal. But, on inquiry into the matter, the reasons assigned appear to be four.

1st. That the Mogul is sovereign of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and proprietor of all the lands within those provinces; and that the rents granted to me are the ancient imperial rents reserved and payable to the Emperor; and that therefore the Nabob could not grant or alienate the same from the imperial Crown; and that the Company may be called to an account by the Emperor for what they have paid to me: Nor is that all the Company seem to expect, but that I am accountable to them for what I have received.

2dly. That suppose the Nabob had a right to alienate those rents, such alienation could exist

exist no longer than the Nabob who granted the same continued in his government, and that such alienation was not binding on his successor; and as Meer Jaffier had been deposed, the grant became of no effect.

3dly. That my acceptance of the dignity of an Omrah, or title of honour, (which honour they doubt my having had, altho' they have a copy of the Patent in their custody) was contrary to my duty to the Company, as I might be obliged, by such acceptance, to assist the Mogul and the Nabob in war, even against the Company.

And lastly, for fear these reasons should fail them, then comes a fourth; which is, that suppose I have a right, that even then I have no remedy in England, but must resort to the court of the Mayor of Calcutta, or to the courts of the Emperor at Delhi, or the court of the Nabob.

As to the first, it may be proper to observe, that, upon the original foundation of the Mogul Empire, all the lands, like those in England, were in the crown, who granted the rents, in the nature of fee-farm

farm rents in England : These lands were, and now are, called Calsa Lands, or lands belonging to the crown ; the rents whereof were, for several years, received by officers appointed within the provinces by the Emperor for that purpose ; and the Nabobs, who were then Vice-roys to the Mogul, had pensions assigned them to maintain their courts, and support their governments : But, for a great number of years past, that method has been changed, and instead of pensions, the Emperors allotted to the Nabobs large quantities of land within the provinces, to be disposed of and managed for their own benefit ; and these lands were, and now are, called Jaghire Lands, and for which no taxes are paid : And as to the rest of the lands within the provinces, the Nabobs farmed the same of the Mogul at a certain yearly sum.

This alteration being received into the Mogul government, it became immaterial to the Mogul what the Nabobs did with the rents ; the yearly sum stipulated was all he expected, and that they were obliged to pay ; so that all the rents, and also the lands that produced them,

them, were under the power of the Nabobs, who might and did dispose of them as they thought fit, and out of them conferred favours on whom they pleased. The Nabobs granted zemindaries or leases of all the lands from time to time at their pleasure, or as occasion required; and in this state the constitution and usage of the Mogul Empire stood at the death of Aurengzebe.

After the death of Aurengzebe, the Nabobs began to assume sovereign authority, and the invasion of the Persians, before taken notice of, rendered that sovereignty absolute; and the Nabobs do now, and have for many years, exercised all those sovereign rights, regarding the lands and revenues of the provinces, which the Mogul Emperors ever had.

It is under the authority of the Nabob, the Company now hold their zemindary in the lands subject to my jaghire; it is under the same authority, they now hold by treaty with the Nabob Cossin Cawn large districts of country, producing near 600,000L a year to them, without paying any rent at all, notwithstanding those lands are calfa or imperial lands, and

and would, in case the original constitution of the Mogul Empire existed, be subject to the payment of the ancient reserved rents to the Great Mogul, to a very large amount : it is well known that there are numbers of jaghires in the province of Bengal, granted by former Nabobs, that have subsisted for several generations.

Yet as to my jaghires, they now at once allege, it was an illegal act in Meer Jaffier, and at the same time admit that the Company are in the enjoyment of all the lands granted to them by the Nabob Coffin Cawn, without paying or being subject to any rent at all ; and that the grant from Coffin Cawn to them, both of the lands and ancient rents, is valid and effectual : this seems a contradiction not easily to be reconciled. But for a moment, let us suppose that the fears the Company entertained at that instant of being accountable to the Great Mogul, might have obscured the light which the comparison of things alone would have discovered, and that the Mogul should hereafter recover the ancient dominion of his empire ; it must then be observed, that the annual tribute stipulated

pulated to be paid by the Nabob on his confirmation, is in fact the same annual sum formerly reserved and paid by the Nabobs for the farm of the rents and lands within the provinces. Can it then be supposed that the Mogul would require both the revenues of the lands, and also the annual sum stipulated to be paid by the Nabob, in lieu of those revenues? It might, with some degree of probability, have been said, that he might, according to the constitution of the empire, call the Nabobs, who might then be considered as his Viceroy's, to an account for all the annual tribute remaining due from them: But to say the Company would be answerable to the Mogul for the rents paid by them to me, is an inconsistency equal to the former, and not to be reconciled to reason or the nature of things: And even to furnish themselves with this pretence, bad as it is, they must have had a very extraordinary foresight; and I should be glad to have been informed of the period such a reckoning was likely to take place.

I have before taken notice of the present circumstances of the Mogul, and by what means  
a Prince

a Prince, under his circumstances, or even supposing him in as good a situation as his predecessors for several years past have been, could recover the dominions of large and powerful provinces, which had long shaken off his authority, I am really at a loss to guess. But, to remove any doubt the proprietors may entertain concerning the power and dominion of the Great Mogul in Bengal, or the sovereign authority of the Nabob, I will repeat the account given by your Directors of those Measures under their hands to his Majesty, in the year 1762, in a memorial presented by them relative to the transactions with the Dutch, which account is in the following words :

“ By the antient constitution of the Mogul Empire, of which the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, are a part, the Nabob or Soubah of those provinces was nothing more than the Mogul’s Viceroy, yet, for many years past, as the strength of that constitution has been gradually declining, the Soubahs of these and other provinces have been in like gradation assuming an independance of the Court of Delhi, and

" the shock which the empire received, or rather the subversion of it, & to what never recovered; nor probably even will, since the irruption of the Persians under Nadir-Shah, has so far confirmed that independence, that the relation between the Nabob and the Mogul is at present little more than nominal. The Nabob makes war or peace without the privity of the Mogul, although there appear still some remains of the old Confirmation in the succession to the Nizamship, yet in fact this succession is now regulated by the Mogul's appointment; the sole person now possessed is generally dubious of fortifying a disputed title by this Mogul's confirmation, which the Elect of Delhi, consider of its enabling the Emperor more substantially, and disengaging him from all appearance of suspicion, negligency, or baseness. The Nabob of Bengal is therefore de facto, whatever he may abide in law, a sovereign Prince, or at worst, not a Vice-roy, but a tributary to the Mogul: there being some kind of tribute still considered as due, from these provinces to the

Mogul,

to Mogul, though it easily, if ever, finds its way to Delhi. It appears by the Director's letters, that the Dutch, as well as we, consider him in this light." I must observe, that the Dutch, in order to give some colour for their complaints against the Company, made use of the following allegation, viz. "The Mogul is sovereign of the country, and we derive from him; under repeated pharmands, a right to a free navigation from thence to other places; and this right we cannot be deprived of, without infringing the pharmands of the Great Mogul, which the Nabob, who is only governor of a province, is not authorized to do."

Indeed it was in answer to this allegation the declaration above-mentioned was made by your Directors, who now find themselves under the fatal necessity, on behalf of the Company, of making use of the same reasons for justifying their conduct towards me, as the Dutch made use of to justify theirs towards the Company.

As to the 2d reason assigned by your Directors, it might, perhaps, have been well for the proprietors, had it never been for their

power to have employed it. But as it is assigned as such, I will answer it as it would have done, at the time it was offered by them, without any regard to what has happened, since that may have deprived them of the use they at first proposed from it.

These are numbers of instances of Jaghires now subsisting, that have been granted by former Nabobs; there are many, even on the Company's own lands, of which the Directors might have been informed by the proper officer appointed for surveying those lands, who is now in England; and they might also have been informed, that there were many Jaghires granted by the Nabob Surajah Dowla and Moor Jaffier, also existing. But enquiring here, seemed not necessary; the Directors at once boldly affirm, my Jaghire to be determined, by the removal of Moor Jaffier from the throne, since the grant did not, as they alledge, bind his successor; without the least consideration of the natural inference such an assertion might produce. I last night took notice, that his Master's arms, and those of the Company, by

the revolution brought about whilst I was the Commander in Chief, acquired the great power and influence the Company enjoyed in Bengal, when I left that country; and that that power after I came away, was made use of to depose the Prince who sat on the throne whilst I was there; and, to establish Mahomed Cossin Cawn in his stead. It is under these circumstances, that the Directors make use of the 2d reason: Now to give that reason its utmost latitude, it can amount to no more than an admission from the Company, that I had once a good right to require from them the payment of my Jaghuet; but that this right is now defeated by a subsequent act, entirely effected by their own agents Nabob! The weight and justice of this argument I leave to your considerations. Before I quit this head, I must beg leave to take notice of the forms agreed on between the Company, and Mahomed Cossin Cawn, which may be seen in the Appendix, and by which it will appear, that Meer Jaffer was to remain Nabob to all purposes, except the executive part of the government, which was to

be the province of the new Nabob. This being the basis of that revolution, if it may be so called, it will appear, that the Nabob Meer Jaffier still remained Nabob of Bengal; and it is well known, that he did till lately, reside at the Company's factory, at Calcutta, in princely state; and, even supposing my Jaghire to be good no longer than the reign of the person who granted it, it would be still subsisting. However, your Directors do now in effect declare, that they will retain my Jaghire for the benefit of the Great Mogul (who would certainly be glad to receive it, as Cossin Ally would readily give any directions touching that matter, the Directors think proper to suggest to him) and that, in prejudice to me and their country; though they at the same time are influenced to retain the rents of the lands, granted to them, not only by Cossin Cawa, but also by the Nabob Meer Jaffier, in prejudice to the Great Mogul.

As to the 3d reason; here I must beg leave to observe, that the titles of honour used in Europe, are unknown to the Indians; their titles of honour are distinguished only by a

number of Asaras, or one thousand, from two to ten thousand horse, which is the highest, and was the title of the son of the Great Mogul; the number of six thousand expresses the dignity of an Oonra, but not any less number; and the equipage of the person on whom such honour is bestowed, are proportioned by the usage of the country to his rank. Hence it will appear, that of necessity, no person can be ennobled in India, unless the rank and number he is appointed to, be expressed in the patent; and this is a mere compliment, which does not lay any obligation on the part of the person receiving such honour, to render to the Mogul any services whatsoever; and to confirm the contrary, it must be premised that the Nabob, in the present case, applied to the Mogul to take me into his service; who, in such service, might (if the emperor meant to recover the ancient dominion of his empire, or the payment of his annual tribute) be employed against the Nabob himself, if military services were to be rendered to the Mogul; which would be an absurdity to suppose.

But the true intent of the honour, was no more than a personal favour to me, and to give me the rank amongst the Princes and great men of that country ; and may have been of service to you in my negotiations and transactions with them. Monsieur Dupleix, the commandant chief of the French forces in India, obtained a title of honour, inferior to mine, and had several Jaghires granted him by the Nabob of the Decan in Lands, ceded to the French Company, which he enjoyed for several years after he returned to Europe, and indeed until the lands, upon which the Jaghires were granted, were taken from the French. And Monsieur Dupleix considered his title of honour, as an advantage to the French in those parts.

As to the 4th reason, it is well known, was I obliged to pursue my remedy in the Mayor's Court, that the judges of that court are dependants upon the Company : the appeal lies to their president and council, nay the person employed on my behalf, must be dependent on the Company. As to my resorting to the courts of the Emperor or the Nabob, no mandate or process from any such courts could be

be enforced against the Company; and were these seasons to prevail, every avenue to justice would be blocked up, and I should enjoy the satisfaction in my own mind, of having a right to what I now demand, without any remedy to obtain it.

I shall end this memorial with some observations on the Company's affairs, at the time the loss of their possessions in Bengal happened, and the regaining those possessions, with all their present great advantages.

When the news of the misfortunes in Bengal first reached Madras, the whole town was hung into a consternation, equal to that of the Court of Directors, when the first advices of it were brought to England. I leave it to Mr. Payne, who was then at the head of the Direction, to describe what he and others suffered from their apprehensions for the Company. Indeed it is the general opinion, that nothing but the sudden advice of the recovery of that valuable settlement, which followed so close upon the news of its loss, could have prevented the Company's sinking under such a misfortune.

In view of the unanimous opinion of the Governor and Council of Madras, that the Company could not sail without their permission in Bengal; The coast of Coromandel may be furthered to them, instead of destroying the Company's expences, out of the profits of its trade, it had incurred a debt of near half a million. Bombay and the West Coast (free from disturbances) scarce paid their expences, so that there remained only a few ships to China, for the Company's support. These considerations, and a thorough persuasion that the Company must fail, if Bengal was not recovered, induced the Governor and Council of Madras, to send such a force as might answer that purpose: & was the person fixed upon to execute their designs; and as the force sent was more than could be spared, consistent with the safety of the Company's possessions on the coast of Coromandel, at that critical time (being just at the eve of a war with France) they invested me with a power, independent of the Governor and Council of Fort William, that when the Company were re-instated in their possessions, they might be able to recall such

such part of the forces under my command; as might be thought consistent with the Company's interest, in other parts of India.

As soon as the sufferers of Bengal were restored to their habitations, by the re-taking of Calcutta, and to peace, by the defeating of Surajah Dowla, they called upon me, to give up that independant power, which the Governor and Council of Madras had abought necessary to intrust me with, which demand I could not comply with, without being guilty of a breach of trust.

This circumstance laid me under many difficulties, both with the government of Bengal and Madras. The Governor and Council of the latter had sent me positive orders to return with a part of the forces under my command, after the capture of Charnagoor, and not knowing the cause, could not account for my disobedience: the many dreadful consequences to which I exposed myself, in case of a miscarriage, did not escape my reflection. I was under these difficulties, when we began our march to subdue Surajah Dowla.

Mr.

Mr. Wates had settled every thing with Meer Jaffier, and the other great officers, of state, who had all engaged in the most solemn manner, to declare themselves, and join us with a large force, before we came to action. We marched within twenty miles of the Soubah's army, and they halted, to receive intelligence of the motions and intentions of our friends; when to our great surprize, Meer Jaffier gave us no hopes of his being able to join us, but expressed great apprehensions of his and our letters being intercepted, and himself being put to death. I wrote repeatedly to him, to insist upon his performing his engagements, and to join us, if it was only with 500 men. This had no effect; I then called a council of war, and put the question, Whether with our own forces alone, and without the prospect of assistance from Meer Jaffier, we should march, and give the Nabob battle, and it passed in the negative. After this, I received a letter from Meer Jaffier, that the Nabob suspecting his designs, had made him swear on the Koran, that he would not fight against him, and that he could not give us his assistance.

ance. Let the Proprietors paint to themselves what I must have suffered, under such a complication of distressed circumstances; and let the Directors remember, that under all those disadvantages, I took upon me to march, and the English arms alone gained the battle of Plassey. It is true, the Directors, in their first blow of gratitude, conferred upon me an honour, I believe, never paid to any other before, or since, by addressing a letter of thanks to me alone, signed by the whole court; and that I might be convinced of the sincerity of their sentiments, they sent no less than six or eight of them, which I have in my possession. But as length of time, and circumstances, seem to have produced another way of thinking in these gentlemen, I hope the Proprietors will excuse me, if I assert, for the last time, that by the great acquisitions of wealth obtained by this event, and by the large sums of money paid into their cash, for bills, the Company were enabled to supply every exigence, and answer the demands of every settlement in India, during the whole course of the war. To Madras alone, was sent

sent upwards of 500,000 l. which must invariably have fallen, without such assistance; and with that place, left London. The Company, who used to send to India several hundred thousand pounds a year, in bullion, were relieved from that difficulty; which, at such a juncture, they never could have surmounted; and, from the Treasury, 1758, the time they received the advice of our success, to this day, they have sent very little to the coast, and still less to Bengal; so that this amount has been a saving to the nation of some millions sterling. The dividends paid to the Company by Calcutta Cows, and all the advantages gained by the usurpation of Meer Jaffier, must appear as much a consequence of the battle of Plassey, as the advantages which were gained immediately after that victory: the whole amounting to 700,000 l. a year, may, at 10 years purchase, be valued at 7 millions sterling; the restitution made to the sufferers of Calcutta, and what was given by Meer Jaffier to the navy, army, and others, may be reckoned at 2,000,000 l. fortunes acquired since, at a moderate computation, 1,500,000 l. the Company themselves likewise received

received from Surajah Dowla and Meer Jaffer, £1,500,000<sup>ll</sup> upon the whole, a clear gain to the nation of twelve millions sterling.

I shall conclude this subject with appealing to the Court of Directors, for the truth of these facts, and call upon them to declare, whether they think without the battle of Plassey, and its consequences, the East-India Company would have been at this time existing? As great numbers of the Proprietors may be unacquainted with these transactions, I hope they will excuse the necessity I have been under, of laying the whole before them, which I submit to their considerate justice, and candour.



## A P P E N D I X.

(Meer Jaffier Cawn Behadr) (Ralph Dyerbant Behadr)  
 (A servant of the King) (A servant of the King)  
 Allumgur the Invincible. (Allumgur the Invincible)

*Treaty executed by Meer Jaffier, (wrote in his own Hand.)*

I SWE A R by God, and the Prophet of God, to abide by the sense of this treaty whilst I have life.

*Moor Mahmud Jaffer Cawn Behadr,  
 a Servant of the King Allumgur.*

*Treaty made with the Admiral and Colonel Clive Sabut Jung Behadr, the other Counsellors Mr. Drake and Mr. Warts,*

1st. Whatever articles were agreed on in time of peace with the Nabob Surajah Dowla Munfor Wilpemaleck Shah Kulli Cawn Behadr Sabut Jung, I agree to and comply with.

2d. The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

3. All the effects and factories belonging to the French in the provinces of Bengal (the Paradise of nations) and Bahar and Orissa, shall remain in the possession of the English; nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three provinces.

4th. In consideration of the losses which the English Company have sustained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta by the Nabob and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of their forces, I will give them one crore of rupees.

5th. For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I agree to give fifty lacks of rupees.

6th. For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Mussulmen, and others, subjects of Calcutta, twenty-five lacks of rupees shall be given.

7th. For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta I will give the sum of seven lacks of rupees. The distribution of the sums allotted the natives, English inhabitants, Gentoos, and Mussulmen, shall be

left

left to the Admiral and Colonel Clive Sabut Jung Behadr, and the rest of the council, to be disposed of by them to whom they think proper.

8th. Within the Ditch which surrounds the borders of Calcutta are tracts of land, belonging to several Zemindars; besides this I will grant the English Company six hundred yards without the ditch.

9th. All the lands lying to the south of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, shall be under the jurisdiction of the English Company; and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction; the revenues to be paid by them (the Company) in the manner with other Zemindars.

10th. Whenever I demand the English assistance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.

11th. I will not erect any new fortifications below Hugly, near the river Ganges.

12th. As soon as I am established in the government of the three provinces, the aforesaid dues shall be faithfully paid.

Dated 15th Ramsan, in the fourth year of the reign.

*Translation of the Sunnat granted to Col. Clive.*

1758.

HIS MAJESTY,

ON Saturday the 12th of Rebbasane, in the fourth of the glorious and happy reign, and the 1173 year of the Hedjette, in the Kessalla of the Glory of the Nobility, and Rank of Amiers, the Shrine of Grandeur and Dignity ; instructed both in the ways of Devotion and Wealth, to whom the true Glory of Religion and Kingdoms is known ; the Bearer of the Lance of Fortitude and Respect, the Embroiderer of the Carpet of Magnificence and Greatness, the Support of the Empire and its Dependencies, to whom it is intrusted to govern and aggrandize the Empire, and Conductor of Victory in the Battles fought for the Dominion of the World ; the Distributer of Life in the Councils of State, to whom the most secret Recesses of the Mysteries of Government are discovered ; the Master of the Arts of Penetration and Circumspection, the

Brightness of the Mirroir of Truth and Fidelity, the Light of the Torch of Sincerity and Integrity, who is admitted to; and contributes to, the Determinations of the Royal Councils; a Participant of the Secrets of the Penefalas of Friendship, who presides equally over the Sword and Pen; Mediator of the Affairs of the Earth, Chief of the Cawns of the most exalted rank, the Pillar of Ameers, of the greatest Splendor; the Trust of the zealous Champions of the Faith; the Glory of Heroes in the Fields of War, and Administrators of the Affairs of the immoveable Empire; Counsellor of enlightened Wisdom and exalted Dignity, adorned with Friendship and Honours, endowed with Dignity and Discretion; Pillar of the Dominions of Solomon, the Distributor of Glory, Buxey of the Empire, Ameer of Ameers, Hero of the Empire, Tiger of the Country, Mahmud Ahmed Cawn, the brave Tiger of War, the Commander in Chief of the Forces glorious by Victory; the Tiger of Hind, mighty in Battle.

And in the time of the Waga Magarree of  
the least of the domestics of the Court of Glo-  
ry and Majesty Sookaab.

This was written, the command (above) was  
passed, that Colonel Clive, an European, be  
favoured with a Munsub of the rank of 6000  
and 5000 horse, and the title of "Flower of  
the Empire, Defender of the Country, the  
Bravest firm in War." This was entered the  
10th day of Rebbeasame, in the 4th year, ac-  
cording to the original Yaddast.

## F O R M of the S I G N I N G.

To the Glory of Nobility, and Rank of Ameers, the Shrine  
of Grandeur, Dignity instructed, &c. Be it entered in the  
Waka.

Reas  
Sug  
jo wa  
N 3  
Kral  
Ranpur.

6000 Rank  
5000 House

Seal of  
under the  
account tent by the  
Viceroy of the Em-  
pire, Administrator  
of all affairs taken  
from the

After the man-  
ner of the  
Waka, it is  
concluded.

Written on the Day above-mentioned of the same Moen, of  
the glorious happy Reign.

The Copy of this Sunund was en-  
tered in the Books of Waka Pa-  
garre, on the 14th of Rabbahans,  
in the Fourth Year of his Ma-  
jesty's reign.

Entered in the Deans' Office, in  
the 25th of Rabbea Samne, in the  
4th Year of his Majesty's Reign.

Sun, 1171. The Servant of Alumgeer,  
the Warlike King, whose Glory is e-  
qual to that of Junshad, mighty in  
War, the Flower of the Country,  
Chief of the Forces, the Glory  
of Victory, the Tiger of Hind,  
Mahmud Ahmood Cawn,  
the brave Tiger of War,  
Buxey of the Empire,  
Ameer of Ameers,  
the Tiger of the  
Country,  
Sun 4.

Sun, 1167, the Slave of  
Alumgeer, the War-  
like King, Soo-  
kaab, Sun the  
First.

The Copy of this Sunund was sent  
to the Office of the Waka Nigar-  
ree, on the 14th of Rabbea Sam-  
ne, in the 4th Year of his Ma-  
jesty's Reign.

The Slave of Alumgeer, the War-  
like King, the Flower of the  
Country, brave in War,  
the glory of Wealth,  
Zechaza Cawn,  
Behadre, 4  
Sun, of  
Reign.

**B**E it known to the nobility of merchants,  
the English Company; That whereas the  
Glory of the Nobility, Subdu'd Ulmuk Nul-  
seera Down Colonel Clive Subat Jung Behadr,  
has been honoured with a Munsub (or title) of  
the rank of 6000 and 5000 horse from the Im-  
perial Court, and has exerted himself, in con-  
junction with me, with the most steady at-  
tachment, and in the most strenuous manner,  
in the protection of the imperial territories  
in recompence thereof, the Petgana (or county)  
of Calcutta, &c. belonging to the Chucta (or  
jurisdiction) of Hughley, &c. of the Sircar  
Saungham, &c. (or treasury) dependant on  
the Cal Shereef and Jagaeer, amounting to  
two hundred and twenty two thousand nine  
hundred and fifty eight S. R. and something  
more.

more, confirmed by the Dewanide Sunnud (or King's Lord Treasurer of the province) on the English Company, as their Zemindarie, commencing from the month Pooz, (or December) in the eleven hundred and sixty-fourth year of the Bengal style, from the half of the season Rabbee Sooscanneel, in the eleven hundred and sixty-fifth year of the Bengal style, is appointed the Jaguer of the glory of the nobility aforesaid. It behoves you to look upon the above-written person, as the lawful Jaguerda (or Lord) of that place; and in the same manner as you formerly delivered in the due rents of the government, according to the Kisbaudee, (or written agreement), into the treasury of the court, and the Jaguses taking a receipt under the seal of the Drogha (or Receiver General) and Mushref, and Trewsurer, now in like manner you are regularly to deliver to the above-mentioned Jaguerdar the arrears, according to the stated payments, and receive a receipt from the aforesaid person. Be practical in the strict execution of this writing.

Writen

[ 74 ]

Written the first of Zechaidia 6<sup>th</sup> sun (or year)  
of the reign.

It is passed. (The Nabob's mark.)

N. B. Endorsements.

(The Royran's signing.)

D H  
Copied in the books of entered in the  
books of the Huzzoor, the Dewanbee,  
the 1<sup>st</sup> of the 1<sup>st</sup> of the Mohurram,  
the 6<sup>th</sup> sun (or year) of the reign, the  
Mohurram, the 6<sup>th</sup> of the reign.

N. B.  
Signed by the Dewannee  
Peshkar, or Accomptant  
Secretary.

N. B.  
Signed by the Nabob Nloon.

*Explanation of the Terms used in Colonel Clive's  
Perwannah for his Jaguer.*

*Perwannah,* A warrant, or a letter from any  
person in a superior station to a dependant.

*Munful,* A dignity.

*Calsa Sbereef,* The office in which all the  
King's accounts are passed.

*Jaguer,* Lands assigned by the King for the  
main-

maintenance of a Munsubdar, or contradistinction to the Calix. It signifies the revenues appropriated to the use of the Subahdres and his family.

*Dewanee,* The Dewan is the King's agent for the collection of his revenues.

*Rubber.* The year in all public registers is divided into two seasons, the one called Kheries, which comprehends the months of Assia, Cartie, Aghun, Poos, Maug, Phagum; the other Chelf, Byfaac, Int, Assar, Sawun, Bhdun. The latter half of the season Relba commences 1st of the month Assar, on the 12th of June, from which time the Jagueer takes place.

*Hissbundee,* A contract from the acquittance of a debt by stated payments.

*Huzzoor,* Literally the presence, applied by way of eminence to the Nabob's court.

*Hoskanee,* I have not had time to inform myself of the exact meaning of this word, but believe it to be the name of the present year, the registers of this empire accounting a perpetual revolution of twelve years, each of which is differently named.

## A LETTER TO ROBERT CLIVE, Esq;

SIR,

OUR most serious attention has been directed to the commands of our Honourable Employers per Hardwick, naming a rotation of Governors for the future management of their affairs at this settlement; and having duly weighed the nature of this regulation, with all its attending consequences, a sincere conviction of its being, in our present situation and circumstances, repugnant to the true interest of our Honourable Masters, and the welfare of the settlement in general, obliges us (though with the utmost respect and deference), to believe, that had our employers been apprized of the present state of their affairs in this kingdom, they would have placed the presidency in some one person, as the clearest and easiest method of conducting their concerns; as well as preserving and maintaining the weight and influence the late happy revolution has given us with the Soubah of these provinces; on which influence, at the present period, the interest and welfare of the Company depends.

depends in the highest degree at this settlement. The difficulties we may be liable to by a revolution in the executive part of government, with its consequences are sufficiently obvious in our present state of affairs ; we will however mention, only a few points. The army with the Nabob not perfected in all its branches ; the possessions of the Janda incomplete ; the settlement in no posture of defence ; the French considerably reinforced with military and a fleet ; their designs with respect to Bengal hitherto unknown ; and the impossibility of impressing a proper idea of this divided power in the minds of the Sepoobah and others of this Kingdom, who have at all times been accustomed to the government of a single person. A little reflection will introduce many more, and clearly evince the necessity of this address.

The gentlemen nominated Governors, in the Honourable Company's commands per Flare-wood, have the highest sense of gratitude for the honour conferred on them by our Employers in their appointment, but deem themselves in duty bound, at this juncture of affairs, to waive all personal honours and advantages ;

tages ; and declare, as their sentiment, That a rotation in the executive part of government, for the foregoing reasons, would be extremely prejudicial to the real interest of the Company, in which opinion we unanimously concur, and judge it for the welfare of our Honourable Employers, and of the settlement in general, to deviate in this instance from the commands of our Honourable Masters, and fix the Presidentship in a single person, till we hear further from Europe.

Your being named as head of the General Committee, (in the letter of the 3d of August last) established at that time for conducting the Company's affairs in Bengal, your eminent services, abilities, and merit, together with your superior weight and influence with the present Subah and his officers, are incidents which have great force with us on this occasion, and all concur in pointing out you as the person best able to render our Hon. Employers necessary service at this juncture, till they shall make their further pleasure known, by the appointment of a President for their affairs here.

Thefe

These reasons urge us to make you an offer of being President of the Company's affairs in Bengal, till a person is appointed by the Honourable Company; and we flatter ourselves you will be induced to accept of our offer, from your wonted regard to the interest of our Honourable Employers, and zeal for the welfare of their affairs, which, we doubt not, you are, as well as ourselves, convinced will be much prejudiced by a rotation in the executive part of government.

We wait your reply, and have the honour to be,

S. I. R.,  
Your most obedt. and most humb. Servts,  
John Watts, Wm. Watts,  
C. Manningham,  
Rich. Beecher.  
26th June, 1758.

M. Collett,  
W. Mackent.  
Tho. Bodham.

Minutes

Minutes out of the Court Books of the East-India  
Company,

**A**t a Court of Directors held, on Wednesday, February 6, 1754, Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence, dated the 5th instant, being read, it was unanimously  
**Resolved**, That a sword set with diamonds, to the value of 500l. be presented by the Court to Capt. Robert Clive, as a token of their esteem for him, and sense of his singular Services to the Company upon the coast of Coromandel.

At a general Court held on Wednesday, December 21, 1757, on a motion, and the question being put, it was

**Resolved**, That the Thanks of this General Court be given to Lieutenant Colonel Robert Clive, for his eminent and signal services to this Company.

At a General Court held on Wednesday, Sept. 24, 1760, the Chairman from the Court of Directors informed this Court, that such impor-

important services had been rendered to the Company in the East-Indies by Vice-Admiral Pocock, and the Colonels Clive and Lawrence, as appeared from the accounts formerly laid before this Court, and lately received, so he demanded some farther marks of the Court's sense thereof than had been already expressed; and moving the Court thereupon, it was on the question . . . .

*Resolved unanimously,* That the thanks of this Court be given to Vice-Admiral Pocock, Colonel Robert Clive, and Colonel Stringer Lawrence, for their many eminent and signal services to this Company.

And another motion being made,

*Ordered,* That the Chairman, and Deputy-Chairman, wait upon those Gentlemen, and acquaint them with this mark of this Courts great regard for their services.

And another being made, it was on the question

*Resolved unanimously,* That the Chairman and Deputy, when they wait upon Vice-Admiral Pocock, Colonel Clive, and Colonel Lawrence,

will desire those Gentlemen to give their consent that their Portraits, or Statues, be taken, in order to be placed in some conspicuous parts of this House; that their eminent and signal services to this Company, may be ever had in remembrance.

N U M-

## N U M B E R I.

*Copy of the Company's Letter to Colonel CLIVE,  
dated March 8, 1758.*

SIR,

OUR sentiments of gratitude for the many great services you have rendered to this company, together with the thanks of the General Court, have been hitherto conveyed thro' the channel of our general letters, but the late extraordinary and unexpected revolution in Bengal, in which you had so great a share of action, both in the *Cabinet and the Field*, merits our more particular regard; and we do accordingly embrace this opportunity of returning you our most sincere and hearty thanks for the zeal, good conduct, and intrepidity, which you have so eminently exerted on this glorious occasion, as well as for the great and solid advantages resulting therefrom to the East-India Company.

We earnestly wish your health may permit your continuance in India for such further term as will give you an opportunity of securing the foundation you have laid, as likewise to give your assistance in putting the company's

*Mercantile and Civil Affairs* on a proper and advantageous footing, upon the plans now transmitted.

For this purpose, as well as in consideration of your eminent services, we have appointed you, *Governor and President of Fort William in Bengal*, and its dependencies, in the manner mentioned in the General Letter by this conveyance; to which we have annexed an additional allowance of One Thousand Pounds a year, as a testimony of our great regard for you. We are,

*Your loving Friends,*

LONDON, March 8,

1758.

John Dorrien,	John Payne,
G. Steevens,	Lau. Sulivan,
Charles Chambers,	J. Raymond,
John Browne,	Chris. Burrow,
M. Western,	M. Impey,
Hen. Hadley,	John Manship,
Timothy Tullie,	Tho'. Phipps,
Cha'. Gough,	John Raymond,
Tho'. Saunders,	Rob. Jones.

*To the Hon. Robert Clive, Esq;*

N U M B.

## N U M B E R II.

*Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated  
March 8, 1760.*

Paragraph I N our Letter of the 3d instant, we the 23d. lamented the situation of the many unhappy people who had lost their property on the capture of Fort William, and had no relief from the treaty concluded with the late Nabob; in compassion to their sufferings we recommended your applying to him on their behalf for relief, if you had the least probability of succeeding. It is with great pleasure, we find, that the late happy revolution and your care, have produced what we had very little reason to expect from the late Nabob. A grant from the present Nabob of such large sums to make good the losses of the several inhabitants, as we are satisfied are much more than sufficient to indemnify them, even with interest thereon. Altho' the Nabob gives the company a crore of rupees, yet when the immense expence of maintaining the settlement at Fulta, the military charges of our troops from Fort St. George and Bombay, and the

the hazard those Presidencies have been exposed to by drawing them off from thence, the charges of fortifications and rebuildings, replacing stores, increase of our garrison, the loss of a season's investments, if not more, and many other obvious particulars are taken into the account, it will appear that the Company will still be considerable sufferers : It is highly reasonable therefore, if the several inhabitants are paid out of the money stipulated in the treaty with the Nabob for that purpose, the full amount of their respective losses, together with interest thereon, that all the surplus should be applied to the Company's Use. We shall expect to hear you have acted in this manner, and that such surplus has been accordingly deposited in our cash ; and we direct that you observe this as a rule for your conduct, in the distribution of any further sums of money on this account. We do not intend by this to break in upon any sums of money which have been given by the Nabob to particular persons by way of free gift or gratuity for their services, it is the surplus of the sums we mean which are agreed to be paid by the Nabob in the

the 5th, 6th, and 7th articles of the treaty with him. It is thought proper here to acquaint you, that such surplusses, whatever they are, we propose to expend in such manner, as will tend to the general utility and security of the settlement, they are therefore to be reserved for our farther orders: And you are hereby directed to transmit us, for our information, exact accounts of every persons loss, whether English or other inhabitants, on the late capture of Fort William, and what has been paid to each of them in particular, by way of indemnification for the same, out of the moneys granted by the Nabob for that purpose.

*Translation*

*Translation of a Treaty between the Nabob Meer**Mahmud Coffin Cawn and the Company.*(Company's) (Meer Mahmud  
Seal.) (Coffin Cawn Bahader.)

**T**WO treaties have been written of the same tenor, and reciprocally exchanged, containing the articles undermentioned, between Meer Mahmud Coffin Cawn Bahader, and the Nabob Sheemso dowla Bahader, Governor, and the rest of the Council for the Affairs of the English Company, and during the life of Meer Mahamud Coffin Cawn Bahader, and the duration of the factories of the English Company in this Country, this agreement shall remain in force. GOD is witness between us that the following articles shall in no wise be infringed by either party.

*Article I.* The Nabob, Meer Mahmud Jaffer Cawn Bahader, shall continue in possession of his dignities, and all affairs be transacted in his name, and a suitable income be allowed for his expences.

*Art. II.* The Neabut of the Subadarne of Bengal, Azemabad, and Cerissa, &c. shall be conferred by his Excellency (the Nabob) on

on Meer Mahmud Coffin Cawn Bahader; he shall be vested with the administration of all affairs of the provinces, and, after his Excellency, he shall proceed to the Government.

*Art. III.* Betwixt us, and Meer Mahamud Coffin Cawn Bahader, a firm friendship and union is established; his enemies are our enemies, and his friends are our friends.

*Art. IV.* The Europeans and Talingas of the English army, shall be ready to assist the Nabob Meer Mahamud Coffin Cawn Bahader, in the management of all affairs; and, in all affairs dependant on him, they shall exert themselves to the utmost of their abilities.

*Art. V.* In all charges of the Company, and of the said army and provinces for the settled, &c. the lands of Burdwan and Mianpoor, and Chittagum shall be assigned, and sunnuds for that purpose shall be written and granted: the Company is to stand to all losses, and receive all the profits of these three countries; and we will demand no more than the three assignments aforesaid.

*Art. VI.* One half of the chugams produced at Silet for three years, shall be purchased

chased by the Gomastah of the Company from the people of the Government, at the customary rate of that place. The tenants and inhabitants of those districts shall receive no injury.

*Art. VII.* The ballance of the former tunaw shall be paid according to the kistbundee agreed upon with the Royroyans ; the jewels which have been pledged shall be received back again.

*Art. VIII.* We will not allow the tenants of the Sircan to settle in the lands of the English Company ; neither shall the tenants of the Company be allowed to settle in the lands of the Sircan.

*Art. IX.* We will give no protection to the dependants of the Sircan in the lands, or in the factories of the Company ; neither shall any protection be given to the dependants of the Company in the Lands of the Sircan ; and whosoever shall fly to either party for refuge shall be given up.

*Art. X.* The measures for the war or peace with the Shah Zada, and raising supplies of money, and concluding both these points, shall  
be